

THE
ORANGE QUESTION

TREATED BY

SIR FRANCIS HINCKS

AND

THE LONDON "TIMES."

Belug Composed of two Letters to the Montreal
Gazette, and an Editorial from the London
Times condemnatory of Orangeism.

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MONTREAL:

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ORANGE QUESTION

SIR FRANK HINKS

THE LONDON TIMES

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SIR FRANCIS HINCKS.

ON THE

ORANGE TROUBLES.

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE "GAZETTE":

SIR,—I venture to assert without fear of contradiction that nine-tenths of the inhabitants of this city, irrespective of national origin or religious belief, are anxious for a restoration of that harmony which prevailed among us a month ago. It has been fortunate that the intense bitterness which has characterized our political discussions has chiefly prevailed among the more educated classes, who do not carry revolvers, and who do not allow their political feelings to get the better of their judgment. There is another cause for congratulation. In the violent party quarrels of thirty or forty years ago citizens of conflicting religious opinions were, as a rule, on opposite sides in politics, and this naturally led to increased bitterness of feeling. At the present time the citizens of Montreal are politically divided without reference to their religious belief, and it may, therefore, be reasonably expected that it will be more easy to allay the feud with which the city has been suddenly visited. I believe that I am correct in asserting that, as regards the Roman Catholic element in our population, considerable numbers both of French Canadian and Irish Catholics are to be found in the ranks of the supporters and opponents of the Government, and that the same remark will apply to all or nearly all of the various Protestant denominations. Surely if I am correct in my statement, all the influential citizens of Montreal should concur in a determination to resist every attempt that may be made to substitute a religious for a political party issue. I fear very much

that the discussions which are being carried on in the public journals and at public meetings are more calculated to intensify than to allay the prevailing bitterness of feeling; and yet, though I am most anxious to do all in my power to restore harmony, I am far from certain that in trying to do so, I shall have any better success than those whose writings appear to me calculated to increase the irritation which already exists. Of one thing I am clear, which is that no good end will be served by withholding the plain truth through fear of giving offence. A wise physician commences by making a diagnosis of his case before he considers how a cure is to be effected. I have read a great deal of what has been written with reference to the recent unfortunate occurrence in Montreal, not only in Canadian, but in foreign newspapers, and I must acknowledge that, in my judgment, there is a total want of appreciation of the cause that has led to a calamity, which was, on its occurrence, almost universally deplored by the citizens of Montreal. Though most anxious to avoid anything approaching to controversial discussion, I can hardly explain satisfactorily my own view of the case without referring to that taken by others. In the late article in the French column of the *Montreal Witness*, entitled "La Question Brulante," it is stated "We comprehend that it must be disagreeable to the Irish to see perpetuated the memory of the battle of the Boyne in Ireland, where the Dutch William of Orange beat the Roman Catholics." The writer adds, and most assuredly cannot be charged with want of zeal in the cause of the Protestant religion, "it would be wiser if the Orange society did not exist, or that it took another name, and adopted another color than orange." I have read in many newspapers, as well as in the sermon of the Rev. Mr. Doudiet, a similar expression of opinion that the cause of offence to Irish Roman Catholics is the celebration of the anniversary of the battle of the Boyne. I believe that those who entertain this opinion are under a complete delusion, from which it is most desirable that they should be freed. Irish Roman Catholics would never have resented the celebration of an ordinary victory, but the Battle of the Boyne was the first of a series of victories which led to the complete subjugation of

Catholic Ireland to Protestant Great Britain, and the effect of that subjugation was that a Protestant minority, settled chiefly in one of the four Provinces of Ireland, was enabled to rule a Roman Catholic majority in the three other Provinces with a rod of iron during the eighteenth century. The motto of the Protestant minority for years before the Orange Lodges came into existence was "PROTESTANT ASCENDENCY," and this was maintained by Penal Laws, every amelioration of which laws was resisted by Orangemen with all the vigor for which they have ever been distinguished. When it is borne in mind that for nearly a century after the Battle of Boyne no Roman Catholic could either be elected or vote for a member of Parliament, that no Roman Catholic could be a lawyer or a solicitor, that no Roman Catholic could keep arms, that his children could not be educated, and that his clergy were proscribed, that no Roman Catholic could own a horse worth over £5, when it is further borne in mind that every amelioration of these penal laws was gradually extorted from the Protestant minority, which was alone represented in the Irish Parliament, by the influence of English statesmen, who, differing upon other questions, were nearly all favorable to the gradual repeal of the penal statutes; when I say all this is considered, it is not difficult to understand the hatred that is felt by Irish Catholics to an institution whose distinguishing principle is "Protestant ascendancy," and whose members habitually proclaim their adherence to this principle by their flags and party tunes — "Protestant Boys" and "Croppies lie down." It is very far from my intention to enter upon any discussion as to the best mode of governing Ireland. I am aware that the penal laws were defeated by men of great ability, such as Fitzgibbon, Yelverton and Wolfe on the ground that the Catholics would never be satisfied without supremacy, and that every concession only strengthened them in making new demands. The policy of such men was to coerce the Catholics into changing their religion, and it is rather singular that in the very height of the conflict there should have been presented an instance of what they anticipated as the result of their policy. The most zealous and anti-Popery member of the Irish House

of Commons in 1790 was Dr. Duigenan, who is thus described by the Protestant historian Froude:—"Sprung from the old stock of the O'Dewgenans, born in a mud cabin, Catholic of the Catholics, Irish of the Irish. Educated at a hedge school (Catholics had no others) and designed for the Priesthood, young Duigenan had caught the eye of a Protestant clergyman, who introduced him into a grammar school. Thence having changed his religion and modified his name, he found his way to a fellowship at Trinity College, and thence to distinction at the Bar and to Parliament." Now, whatever may be the opinion entertained as to the policy of Dr. Duigenan and those with whom he acted, it was at all events what deserves to be termed the policy of statesmen. A people who could not be trusted with power were to be governed avowedly by the strong arm, and that was the Orange policy. What were its results? People who were prohibited by law from having arms, broke into houses, murdered the occupiers, and seized the arms, and for years things went from bad to worse, until the breaking out of the rebellion of 1798, which was suppressed, after frightful atrocities on both sides, in a great degree owing to the vigor of the Orangemen, which it must be admitted has always been displayed on occasions of emergency. After the suppression of the rebellion, there was for a number of years "Protestant ascendancy;" in full power; but England crippled Orange influence by the Union, which brought Irish politics under the supervision of a House of Commons free from the prejudices of men like Dr. Duigenan. "Catholic Emancipation," or the admission of Roman Catholics to seats in Parliament became one of the prominent political questions of the day, and during many years Orangemen on one side and Roman Catholics on the other fought the battle with a bitterness that can better be imagined than described. In 1828 the Catholics obtained the victory, but they had no reason to thank those who had fought them to the last with the same determination that they have always exhibited. This battle having been gained, new issues were raised, the most important of which was the disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church. Again there was a pro-

tracted conflict which has only terminated at a very recent period. This Irish quarrel has lasted for centuries, and during the greater portion of the time the "Protestant ascendancy" party has been the consistent opponent of every measure which had for its object the placing of all the subjects of the Crown on an equal footing of perfect equality. I have endeavored to state some leading historical facts drawn from Irish history subsequent to the Battle of the Boyne, my object being simply to make it perfectly clear that a party pledged to the principle of "Protestant ascendancy" must be detested by every Roman Catholic. I care not whether the policy in itself is wise or unwise according to Protestant opinions; it must be utterly detestable to every Roman Catholic, and inasmuch as every Roman Catholic is perfectly aware of the leading principle of the Orange Society, he regards every member of the Order with that hatred which has ever been entertained by the oppressed people towards their oppressors.

Before leaving this branch of my subject in which I have endeavored to explain the nature of the penal laws which existed during the period of Protestant ascendancy, and which were neither adverted to in the sermon of the Rev. Mr. Doudiet nor in the articles in the *Witness* and *National*, and with which I find few but Irish Catholics much acquainted, I shall ask permission to give a few extracts from the history of Macaulay and Froude, the latter the unflinching defender of Protestant ascendancy, while the former was an enthusiastic admirer of William of Orange.

(From Macaulay's History.)

"With what contempt, with what antipathy, the ruling minority in that country long regarded the subject majority may be best learned from the hateful laws which, within the memory of men still living, disgraced the Irish Statute Book. Those laws were at length annulled, but the spirit which had dictated them survived them, and even at this day sometimes breaks out with excesses pernicious to the commonwealth, and dishonorable to the Protestant religion." * * * "The iron had entered into the soul. The memory of past defeats, the habit of daily enduring insult, and oppression,

had cowed the spirit of the unhappy nation. There were indeed Irish Roman Catholics of great ability, energy and ambition; but they were to be found everywhere except in Ireland—at Versailles and at Saint Ildefonso, in the armies of Frederic and in the armies of Maria Theresa. One exile became a Marshal of France. Another became Prime Minister of Spain. If he had stayed in his native land he would have been regarded as an inferior by all ignorant and worthless Squireens who drank the glorious and immortal memory. In his palace at Madrid he had the pleasure of being assiduously courted by the Ambassador of George the Second and of bidding defiance in high terms to the Ambassador of George III. Scattered over all Europe were to be found brave Irish Generals, dexterous Irish diplomatists, Irish Counts, Irish Barons, Irish Knights of Saint Denis and Saint Leopold, of the White Eagle and the Golden Fleece, who if they had remained in the house of bondage could not have been ensigus of marching regiments, or freemen of petty corporations. * * * * *

We have never known and can but faintly conceive the feelings of a nation doomed to see constantly in all its public places the monuments of its subjugation. Such monuments everywhere meet the eye of the Irish Roman Catholics."

One more extract from Macaulay's Essays which is particularly instructive. It has reference to Cromwell's conquest of Ireland:—"The rebellion of the aboriginal race had excited in England a strong religious and national aversion to them; nor is there any reason to believe that the Protector was so far beyond his age as to be free from the prevailing sentiment. He had vanquished them; he knew that they were in his power, and he regarded them as a band of malefactors and idolaters who were mercifully treated if they were not smitten with the edge of the sword. On those who had resisted he had made war as the Hebrews had made war on the Canaanites. Drogheda was as Jericho, and Wexford as Ai. To the remains of the old population the conqueror granted a peace such as that which Israel granted to the Gideonites. He made them hewers of wood and drawers of water. But good or bad, he could not be otherwise than great Under

favorable circumstances Ireland would have found him a most just and beneficial ruler. She found in him a tyrant; not a small, teasing tyrant, such as those who have been so long her curse and her shame, but one of those awful tyrants who at long intervals seem to be sent on earth like avenging angels with some high commission of destruction and renovation. He was no man of half measures, of mean affronts and ungracious concessions. His Protestant ascendancy was not an ascendancy of ribands and fiddles and statues and processions."

(From Froude's English in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century.)

"But to four-fifths of the Irish peasantry, the change of masters meant only a grinding tyranny, and tyranny more unbearable because inflicted by aliens in blood and creed. . . . The peasant of Tipperary was in the grasp of a dead hand. The will of a master whom he never saw was enforced against him by a law irresistible as destiny. The absentee landlords of Ireland had neither community of interest with the people nor sympathy of race. They had no fear of provoking their resentment, for they lived beyond their reach. They had no desire for their welfare, for, as individuals, they were ignorant of their existence. They regarded their Irish estates as the sources of their income; their only desire was to extract the most out of them which the soil could be made to yield; and they cared no more for the souls and bodies of those who were in fact committed to their charge than the owners of a West Indian plantation for the Lards of slaves whose backs were blistering in the cane fields. . . . A son who had quarrelled with his father could demand a maintenance on declaring himself a Protestant, and there was thus a premium on dishonest conversions and an encouragement to disobedience in children. A Protestant informer who could convict a Catholic of concealing his property, could dispossess the owner in his own favor. The disabilities extending to leases, to trades and professions, the temptation to spiritual dishonesty, was carried down among the middlemen, the tenant farmers, the lawyers and the shopkeepers, and the ranks of the Protestants were swelled by gentlemen and

men of business, who in forfeiting their self-respect lost with it the sense of right and wrong."

One more extract relative to Lord Camden's refusal to accept the proffered Orange aid to Government in 1798, just before the breaking out of the rebellion: "Had Camden's administration been actuated by the fanatical spirit of Protestant ascendancy, which it is usually said to have represented the Viceroy would have caught eagerly at a proposition to accept assistance which would have relieved him of all anxiety for the possible success of the rebellion. He had shrunk from the Orangemen, and he shrank from them still, because he held it inconsistent with the duty of the representative of the Sovereign to raise again the banner of the Boyne, or arm Protestants against Catholics." I desire to state in addition to the foregoing extracts that the Imperial Parliament passed an Act prohibiting party processions, and likewise an address to the Crown praying that His Majesty William IV., "would take such measures as should be effectual for the suppression of secret political associations. This address *was unanimously agreed to* and two days afterwards the Royal reply echoing the resolution was received. It is further to be noted that a copy of the address and reply was sent to the Duke of Cumberland as Grand Master of the Orange Association, and that the Duke "immediately sent a reply intimating that before the last debate in the Commons he had recommended the dissolution of Orange Societies in Ireland, and that he would immediately proceed to dissolve all such societies elsewhere." The historian (Miss Martineau) from whom I quote the result of the great Parliamentary enquiry into Orangeism in 1836 adds, "In a few days the thing was done and Orangeism became a matter of history!"

I have endeavored to convey to your readers the cause of what people, who are ignorant of facts, believe to be an unaccountable hatred to Orangeism on the part of Irish Roman Catholics, and I shall now advert to the introduction of Orangeism into Canada. If I am not mistaken, it is about fifty years since Orange lodges were first established in Upper Canada, now the Province of Ontario. It is a singular fact that although the Canadian lodges obtained their warrants from Ireland, no attempt

has ever been made, so far as my knowledge extends, to give effect in Canada to the fundamental principle of the order, viz., "Protestant ascendancy." On the contrary, the members of the Orange society became first known as a power in the State by lending their aid to the old Tory party of Upper Canada in the great contest for the establishment of "Responsible Government." Those acquainted with Canadian history must be aware that the most active supporters of Responsible Government, both in and out of Parliament, were Protestants, and although the majority of Roman Catholics acted with the Liberal party, there was a sufficient number of influential Catholics on the other side to prevent the introduction of the religious element into the controversy. On several occasions the Orangemen took an active part in the political warfare, breaking up public meetings by violence and exciting a very strong prejudice against them in the minds of the Protestant as well as the Roman Catholic Reformers. In October, 1839, a meeting of the inhabitants of the County of York convened to consider the Earl of Durham's report, was dispersed by a body of men consisting chiefly of Orangemen, armed with pistols and other weapons. The meeting consisted almost exclusively of Protestants. I have before me a list of a committee of 25 appointed to procure signatures to the address to Her Majesty, and there is only one Roman Catholic name among them. I mention this, not at all to revive the old quarrels of nearly 40 years ago, but to establish the fact that Orangeism was introduced into Canada not with the view of establishing "Protestant ascendancy," but to oppose a reform, the advocates of which were habitually charged with disloyalty. I am charitable enough to believe that those who joined the Orange Lodges really believed that their opponents were disloyal, and that in resorting to the violent measures which they adopted they were merely acting in accordance with the principles which they had imbibed from infancy, and which led them not to tolerate free discussion. So violent had been the conduct of the Orangemen during eight or ten years prior to 1843 that in that year Mr. Attorney-General Baldwin submitted to Parliament two bills—one to prohibit party processions,

the other to discourage secret societies. Both bills passed the Council and Assembly, but only one, that against party processions, became law, the other having been reserved by Governor Sir Charles Metcalfe. The Party Processions Act was carried by 45 to 9, and of these 45, 29 were Protestants and 16 Roman Catholics. It may well be mentioned that Mr. Baldwin, with the concurrence of his colleagues, was most anxious to follow the English precedent of 1838, and to proceed by an address to the Governor requesting him to discourage secret societies. Sir Charles Metcalfe, who would have much preferred taking no action whatever, was unwilling to commit himself by answering an address, and accordingly suggested legislation. The Ministry yielded the point very reluctantly, not being apprised by Sir C. Metcalfe of his intention to reserve the bill. It was carried through both houses, but having been reserved never became law. In the year 1851 the Party Processions Act was repealed, and it is very important that Orangemen should bear in mind the circumstances of that repeal. A bill having been introduced for that purpose, the Government offered no opposition to it, and did not even divide the House on the second reading a division was taken, merely that those who retained their old opinion might have an opportunity of recording their adherence to them. The division was 38 to 16, but of the 38, 18 were supporters of the Government, and of these no less than ten French Canadians and Roman Catholics, among whom were Mr. Tache, Mr. Drummond and Mr. Cartier. I acknowledge that I voted myself in the minority of 17 with Mr. Lafontaine, and some others who had been parties to the Act which was to be repealed. We, however, gave silent votes without attempting to obstruct the measure, which, it was hoped, would allay the irritation which had been created. Since that time Orangism has been extended throughout Ontario, and to some extent in the Province of Quebec. Assuming that I am correct in believing that Canadian Orangemen have wholly abandoned the fundamental principles of their Order, then I must confess that I fail to comprehend the object that they seek to attain, for they no longer act in concert in the political questions of the day. I have looked through the sermon

of Mr. Doudlet who cannot be so ignorant as to be unaware that the hostility to Orangism is founded on its leading principle of "Protestant ascendancy," and its known bias in favor of penal laws against Roman Catholics. Though he never alluded to the penal laws, he professed to believe that the cause of irritation was that "Irish Catholics imagine that by this celebration we wish to throw a slur upon the bravery of their co-religionists who fought at the Boyne." I believe that a great number of Protestants in Montreal are under the same delusion. I have no doubt that the articles in the *True Witness* have caused much irritation, and that the defiant tone adopted by that journal is not calculated to allay the irritation which exists among Protestants generally owing to the unexpected outrage on the 12th instant. It is, however, a mistake, to imagine that the editor can intensify by any language of his own the feeling against Orangism which has prevailed among Irish Catholics universally since the first establishment of the order, and for more than a century before against those who entertained Orange principles. It is desirable in my opinion, that it should be clearly understood by the Protestant population of Montreal, including the Orangemen themselves, what will be the inevitable result of the threat which they have held out to insist on the celebration of the 12th July in Montreal. Instead of hazarding any conjecture of my own on the subject, I would implore my Protestant fellow citizens to study Irish history from 1790 to the Union with Great Britain in 1800; and to ask themselves if they wish that they and their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens should entertain towards one another the feelings which animated the Orangemen and Catholics of Ireland during that period. I own that I have read with indignation that at a meeting of Orangemen in the city of Toronto, a foreigner from Buffalo in the United States was not only permitted but was encouraged to declare that foreign Orangemen would come to Montreal next year to form part of an army of 20,000 men which has been demanded by the Orangemen of Montreal. This foreigner was selected to read the demand for aid, and took it upon himself to pledge that it would be afforded, and I have not noticed any condemnation of his conduct

in the Toronto newspapers. I know that the duty of the Dominion Government will be, and I can hardly doubt that it will be reminded of it during the next session of Parliament. If any foreigners dare to pollute the soil of Canada, whether they are Orangemen or Fenians they must be met on the frontier and be dealt with summarily. The United States Government, moreover, should be warned of its duty to Great Britain should any of its citizens conspire to perpetuate such an outrage. My sole motive for addressing the public in your columns is because I have no confidence in the suggestions which have been very generally made with the object of restoring harmony. Those suggestions have been the prohibition by law of all processions. Personally I should rejoice at the abandonment of processions of every description. I shall, however, state the reasons which lead me to think that it is unadvisable to attempt such a remedy. The national processions are harmless and only annoying inasmuch as they occupy the streets, and involve a day's idleness to a great number of labourers. The processions which really cause any annoyance to Protestants are the Roman Catholic processions, which are certainly not intended to give them offence. I presume that in point of fact they do not give any annoyance whatever to the great majority of Protestants, but I can readily conceive that to Orangemen, and those who sympathize with their views, it is vexatious to find that the religious processions of Roman Catholics are not prohibited by law. Is it probable, however, that the Legislature could be induced to pass a law to prohibit such processions? I feel assured that the answer must be in the negative, and the Orangemen must be aware, from their own feelings, that it would be an unwise course to agitate for a law on the subject. But I have a further objection to legislation. It has been tried already, and the Orangemen have refused to obey the law. The Orangemen are fond of charging Roman Catholics with owing a divided allegiance to the Queen and to Pope, but lay themselves open to the charge of owing a divided allegiance to the Queen and to the Orange Society. It is the imperative duty of loyal men to obey the law, but Orangemen have not obeyed any law forbidding them to march in procession with banners.

and badges. After the experience of the past, I look on it as quite useless to legislate against Orange processions. I may add that legislation against processions in Ontario would be wholly impracticable. Can, then, no remedy be found for the impending evil? But one, in my judgment, which is to revert to the state of things which existed two or three years ago. I shall not enter on the question of the legality of the Orange Lodge which has been raised of late. It is a most remarkable circumstance that the existence of Sir John Colborne's ordinance, framed probably by Sir James Stuart or Mr. Attorney-General Ogden, seems to have been unknown to Canadian politicians a few years after its enactment. It is most fortunate for the Orangemen that such was the case, as, in all probability, it would have been extended to Upper Canada in 1843 with very little opposition. For my present purpose I prefer assuming the legality of the societies, and, as a consequence, their right to walk in procession. It is, however, by no means necessary that men should exercise all their rights, and Orangemen in Montreal may fairly be called on to adopt the policy invariably followed by the Irish Orangemen, for whom, at least, they profess respect. Now, that policy has been never to celebrate the 12th July in cities or towns where the great majority of the citizens are Roman Catholics. Canadian Orangemen should no more think of celebrating the anniversary in Montreal than Irish Orangemen in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, or Waterford. Though I should not presume to call on Orangemen to adopt a course that is not sanctioned by the practice of their own order, I venture to hope that most of them will have some regard for the opinion of their fellow Protestants. Now I learn from the sermon, of the Rev. Mr. Doudiet, as well as from the speech in Toronto of a Montreal Orangeman—that the Lodges were much aggrieved by the refusal of the Trustees of Protestant churches to grant their use for an Orange service on the 12th. Mr. Doudiet says, "Every one asked for was refused if the contemplated procession, which we have the undoubted right to make, took place." A stronger indication could hardly be given of the Protestant sentiment of Montreal. It is a singular circum-

stance that I have not observed that the Orangemen have had a service in Church with a violent anti-Popery sermon anywhere but in Montreal. In Toronto they went to the Park and had speeches, and the day was observed elsewhere in a similar manner. I would earnestly advise all Protestants, but especially the Protestant clergy of Montreal, who must exercise a large influence over their flocks, to use it for the prevention of Orange celebrations in Montreal. It is admitted that these can only be observed successfully with the aid of strangers from Ontario cities. Common sense and Christian charity should teach those who are anxious to observe the day, to go to the places where Protestants are in the majority, as one of their number went to Toronto. I regret very much to find that an opinion prevails among some Roman Catholics that the Protestant clergy are insincere in their opposition to Orange processions and that they secretly encourage them. Such I feel convinced is not the case, but I must confess that I doubt whether they have ever exerted their influence against them with the same zeal that they have displayed in the cause of temperance and other reforms. I would implore them to reflect that no body of strangers introduced here, however numerous, will keep the Catholics down beyond the brief period of their stay in Montreal, whereas their presence will inflame the bad blood that will have been created. Furthermore, let it not be forgotten that although on Monday, the 16th, the Orange procession was protected as well as it is possible that any such procession could be, before night poor Elliott was shot, and might have been killed just as Hackett was. If the threats that have been made, I trust at a moment of natural exultation, be carried out, we shall have in Montreal, as formerly in Ireland, a 12th of July from the 1st of January to the 31st of December. I am persuaded in my own mind that nothing short of the abandonment of the celebration of the Orange anniversary will secure peace. Macanlay justly held up to ridicule a Protestant ascendancy of ribands, fiddlers, statues and processions, but, in my judgment a fanatical sermon is a more serious affair. I am unable to judge of the feelings of Roman Catholics on the subject, but I know that if I were one,

and had to submit to the humiliation of enduring the insults of the representatives of a body which had trampled on the rights and liberties of the people of my race and religion for centuries, I would ten times sooner endure the insult of the ribanda, the fiddle, the party tunes and the favorite expressions, "To hell with the Pope." "We'll kick the Pope before us," than the greater one of reading in the public journals, such a fanatical sermon, as that which was preached to the Orangemen of Montreal on the 12th inst., and published in all the leading newspapers of the city. The ribanda, the fiddles, the flags, and the tunes, might be treated with contempt by sensible men, who know that the hydra-headed monster Intolerance will never be suffered to rear its head on the Continent of North America, but the fanatical sermon is calculated to excite the worst passions of men, already exasperated by the offenses of their unhappy country. I will write strongly, because I feel that there can be no half measures about the Orange celebration. If the Protestant Clergy of Montreal are unable or unwilling to control their congregations my conviction is that the consequences will be such as will be regretted by generations yet unborn. I have scarcely referred to the catastrophe of the 12th July, not that I shrink from the discussion, but because, under the circumstances, I have preferred dealing with the question of Orange celebrations in a city chiefly inhabited by Roman Catholics, on its own merits and free from the complications of a casualty which ought not, in my judgment, to influence the decision. The simple question for solution is whether it is, or is not, expedient for Montreal Orangemen to celebrate the 12th of July. My conviction is that they ought to imitate their brethren in Dublin, Cork, and other cities similarly situated, and if this be the prudent, and, I may add, the Christian course, the late unfortunate occurrence should not be allowed influence them to take a different one. The bitter feelings which subsist at present will subside in the course of time. I deprecate all attempts to throw "personal responsibility" on any but the perpetrators of the crime which has been committed, and which must be dealt with

according to law. The Orange lodges have no hesitation in throwing the responsibility on the Mayor of Montreal, and His Honour, I have little doubt, as well as many others, would throw it on the Orange societies. The Mayor is chiefly blamed by the Orangemen for not acceding to a request that he would afford protection to their procession at a time when it was contemplated, and when they seemed to have known that it would be interfered with. I did not believe that public opinion was against the Mayor with regard to his decision on that demand. There was, I own, great anxiety as to the consequences, and almost at the last moment a meeting of certain officers of societies was summoned, with a view to bring influence to bear against the contemplated procession. I own that, in my opinion, that meeting was a mistake, although I am persuaded that it was held with the best intentions. I have no doubt that the Roman Catholic gentlemen would have acted more wisely by abstaining from all interference in the matter. By taking part they were held to have incurred a responsibility for the conduct of their co religionists, and have been actually charged with the violation of a pledge when they did all in their power to preserve order in the city. I admit that it is not an easy matter to persuade Orangemen to give up the ribands, the flags and the tunes, but if Protestants could not persuade them to do so, Catholics would have little chance. What I deplored during the anxious period which preceded the 12th was the apathy of the Protestant clergy of the city. I hoped that their influence might have been successfully used to prevent the celebration. As matters turned out, the final decision was arrived at too late. I doubt much whether it was generally known that the procession had been abandoned, for the crowd gathered at the Orange headquarters in St. James street evidently expecting the Orangemen to come from the same place as the previous year. I am satisfied that there was, and is, a general opinion that an efficient police force, such as could easily have been made available, would have preserved the peace. I am not uncharitable enough to impute bad motives more especially when there is no ground for charging the Mayor with anything be-

yond an error in judgement. He was aware that there was to be no procession, and he probably never before had to deal with a 12th of July difficulty. However, there is no disputing the fact that had the police been on hand for three or four hours the crowd would have been dispersed without doing harm, and all the bitter feeling of the last fortnight would have been avoided. After the unfortunate event there was a general feeling that there ought to be no interference with the arrangements for the funeral. The Orangemen determined on making a demonstration that has excited feelings among the Roman Catholics that I earnestly hope will soon subside. I do not join in the condemnation of the TRUE WITNESS, because I believe that the editor of that paper has not much, if at all, exaggerated the feeling against Orangemen on the part of his countrymen. He does not pretend to express the opinions of Protestants, but those of his own race and religion, and if he has expressed them truly, surely it is better that we should know what they are. He has threatened the employment of physical force, but so have the Montreal Orangemen who have named 20,000 men as the contingent required. The game is one at which two can play, and the lovers of peace should condemn all these appeals, no matter from what party they proceed. I leave the subject now to be considered by those who alone can employ influences in the proper quarter, and I earnestly hope that the citizens of Montreal may not have to suffer the consequences of the Irish penal laws.

I am, yours truly,

F. HINCKS.

THE LONDON "TIMES"

ON THE

MONTREAL RIOTS.

—o—

AN ENGLISH VIEW.

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The London *Times* of the 18th July has the following article on the 12th of July troubles in Montreal :—

Modern pathologists have deduced from their experience of epidemic diseases a very curious and morally instructive theory. They assert that pestilences are aggravated in virulence by transmission from a civilized to an uncivilized race, and that a disorder which would not preceptibly influence the death rate of an English town may decimate a colored community. The fatal outbreak of measles which lately devastated the Fiji Islands will be in the recollection of our readers, and they may perceive an analogy to this in the violence with which the religious and political feuds of the Old World rekindle themselves spontaneously in the New. Canada is a country which has had the advantage of a clear start in politics. The Canadians enjoy all the privileges of self-government, and their institutions do not deviate materially from those of their republican neighbors. Yet it is in Montreal and other Canadian cities that we find the fanaticism blazing which used to give over Belfast and Londonderry to the furies of civil war. The bigotry of Orangeism and the antagonistic brutalities which it begets are raging among the Canadians, the near neighbors of a people who boast that they have never been rent by a religious feud. Nor has the recrudescence of these antiquated passions remained without calamitous results. Blood has been shed, and blood will, it is to be feared, breed blood. The history of Sectarian animosities in Ireland shows that such collisions can only be repressed by a severe and impartial administration of the

law, and the difficulty of enforcing such repressive methods in a community like that of Lower French Canada is too evident.

The disastrous conflict in Montreal began, as usual, with the intrusion of Orange emblems and war-cries into the heart of a Roman Catholic population. The city of Montreal is as keenly devoted to the Church of Rome as Dublin, or Cologne, or Lucerne. It is not only in form, but in fact, the capital of French Canada, the colony which even now preserves much of the spirit and many of the traditions of the *Ancien Regime*. But in addition to its French-speaking Catholic inhabitants who, whether Clerical Conservatives or semi-Republican *Rouges*, equally detest and distrust the fanatical Protestantism of the Orange party, Montreal contains a formidable proportion of Irish immigrants. It was to this city that the aggressive Orangemen of the Dominion chose to carry their foolish and fatal challenge a few days ago. On Thursday last, the great anniversary festival of Orangeism, a procession was contemplated, and the Roman Catholics were thrown into a state of violent excitement by what they considered at once to be a menace and a defiance. So serious was the danger deemed, that the magistrates and the municipal authorities made the most energetic efforts to induce the Orange party to abandon the procession at any rate; and when these efforts were successful, the Orangemen, by a small majority, surrendering their claim to float their banners in the face of the Roman Catholic city, the peril was thought to be averted. But though the Orangemen did not attempt to march in procession through the town on the 12th of July, they insisted on a demonstration of a less formal kind, "attending service in a body at the Knox Church." Here it was that the train of combustibles caught fire. "Turbulent crowds assembled in the streets;" there was "some rioting," and, finally, about fifty shots were exchanged. One Orangeman was killed on the spot and two were wounded. The temper of the Orange Party was naturally irritated by this outrage, which, as they alleged, involved also a breach of faith on the part of the Mayor of Montreal and authorities, at whose request the projected procession had been given up. On Monday the funeral of the murdered

man was announced as the occasion of a great protest and demonstration. Although the municipality seems to have taken no precautions for the preservation of the peace, the military were called out by the Deputy Adjutant-General, and they succeeded in protecting Mr. Hackett's funeral from serious attack. While the troops remained under arms the Orangemen were not molested; but in the evening, as they were leaving the city, they were again surrounded by an angry crowd, and in the obscure conflict which followed, two more of them were wounded, one, at least, mortally.

We have no desire to put forward the slightest excuse or extenuation on behalf of the Roman Catholic rowdies, whether Irish or French-Canadians, who carried their brutal intolerance and lawless violence to the extent of murder. But what are we to say of the Orangemen, who thrust the lighted torch of their organized and openly-paraded fanaticism into such a magazine of combustibles. No good end was to be gained, no intelligible principle was even to be asserted, by the public defiance of Roman Catholic traditions in a Roman Catholic city. The existence of Orangeism in Canada is susceptible of easy explanation, though, as we have said, its exceptional virulence can only be regarded as the result of a change of climatic conditions. The Angli-Saxon and Protestant element in Canada is mainly drawn from the Presbyterians of the Scottish Lowlands and of Ulster, with whom detestation of the "Scarlet Woman" is an hereditary passion. Even the earlier settlers, the "United Empire Loyalists," who took refuge in Canada after the success of the Revolution in the Thirteen Colonies, carry with them the dominant anti-papal sentiments of new England. It is, then, intelligible enough that there should be a powerful section of the Canadians adhering to Orangeism, and forced into more vehement assertion of Orange doctrines by the presence of an aggressive Romanism. But it is almost inconceivable that even Orangemen should be so obtuse as to imagine that they can successfully domineer where they are distinctly and hopelessly in a minority. It is evident that they have no more right, and indeed, no more substantial power, to defy the Roman Catholics of Montreal than they would have to insult the Mus-

sulmans in Stamboul or the Hindoos in Benares. It is imperatively necessary that the immediate agents in the murderous assaults which have led to the sacrifice of several lives in Montreal should be, if possible, brought to punishment; but it is equally essential that, if no other penalty can be enacted, public opinion should denounce the selfish and reckless bigotry which provoked the conflict. The Orangemen of Canada are reproducing in the full light of modern day the most discreditable episodes of the Ascendancy period in Irish history. They have the less excuse because Orange intolerance had in Ireland an historical root and a natural growth, while in Canada it is an imported plant, nurtured by a calculating bigotry and propagated by the labors of a misdirected zeal.

OBLIGATION OF AN ORANGEMAN.

I, A. B.—do solemnly and voluntarily swear, that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and to Her lawful Heirs and Successors, in the Sovereignty of Great Britain and Ireland, and of these Provinces dependant on, and belonging to, the said Kingdom, so long as she or they shall maintain the Protestant religion and the Laws of this country: that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend her against all traitorous conspiracies and attempts which I shall know to be against her or any of them; that I will steadily maintain the connection between the Colonies of British America and the Mother Country, and be ever ready to resist all attempts to weaken British influence, or dismember the British Empire; that I will be true and faithful to every brother Orangeman in all just actions, neither wronging him, nor knowing him to be wronged or injured, without giving him due notice thereof, and preventing it if in my power. I swear that I will ever hold in reverence the name of our Glorious Deliverer, King William the Third, Prince of Orange: in grateful remembrance of whom, I solemnly promise (if in

my power) to celebrate his victory over James, at the Boyne, in Ireland, by assembling with my brethren, in their Lodge Room, on the 12th day of July, in every year; I swear that I am not, nor ever will be, a Roman Catholic or Papist, nor am I now married to, nor will I ever marry a Roman Catholic or Papist, nor educate my children, nor suffer them to be educated in the Roman Catholic faith, if in my power to prevent it; nor am I now, nor ever will be, a member of any Society or body of men that are enemies to Her Majesty and our Glorious Constitution; that I never was, to my knowledge or belief, suspended or expelled from any Orange Lodge. I further declare that I will do my utmost to support and maintain the Loyal Orange Institution; obey all regular Summonses, and pay all just Dues (if in my power), and observe and obey the Constitution and Laws of the Order; and lastly, I swear, that I will always conceal, and never in any way whatsoever disclose or reveal, the whole or any part of the signs, words or tokens that are now about to be privately communicated to me, unless I shall be authorised so to do by the proper authorities* of the Orange Institution, of which I am about to become a member. So help me God, and keep me steadfast, in this my Orangeman's Obligation.

* The proper authorities here referred to, are a Warrant under the Great Seal of the Grand Lodge, or a special Authority from a Grand Officer.

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